

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03 INR-11 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 /153 W

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P R 230600Z SEP 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 421

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0249

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: NATO GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP - RELEASE TO
EAST OF REVISED NATO AND PACT GROUND FORCE TOTALS

1. AS WASHINGTON AGENCIES KNOW, IN THE AUTUMN SESSION OF THE MBFR TALKS, THE AD HOC GROUP PLANS TO FOLLOW THE TACTIC OF RESUMING DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET IN ORDER TO REACH SOME AT LEAST TENTATIVE UNDERSTANDING ON THIS SUBJECT. IF THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL IN THIS OBJECTIVE, THEY PLAN TO LEAVE THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET TEMPORARILY ASIDE AND TO MOVE TO TRY TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON A REVISED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, COMBINED WITH A RENEWED EFFORT TO DRAW THE EAST INTO AN

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EXCHANGE OF DATA.

2. IN THIS CONNECTION , IN ITS JULY 23 REPORT TO THE NAC (PARA 10 OF MBFR VIENNA 0199), THE AD HOC GROUP REQUESTED AUTHORIZATION TO REVEAL TO THE EAST THE NEW ALLIANCE-AGREED FIGURES FOR OVERALL NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. THE AD HOC GROUP REQUESTED THIS AUTHORIZATION BY OCTOBER 1.

3. THE ALLIES IN VIENNA WILL PROBABLY HAVE TWO INFORMAL SESSIONS WITH THE EAST ON THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET BEFORE MOVING ON THE ISSUE OF DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. WHEN THE LATER SUBJECT IS RAISED, IT WOULD BE MISLEADING AND SHORT-SIGHTED TO LEAVE THE EAST WITH AN IMPRESSION, BASED ON EARLIER NOW INACCURATE TOTALS FURNISHED THE EAST BY THE ALLIES, THAT THE ALLIES ARE SUGGESTING A WAY OF REDUCING THE GAP BETWEEN THE OVERALL TOTAL OF GROUND FORCES OF BOTH SIDES WHICH IS CONSIDERABLY LARGER THAN IT WOULD BE IN ACTUALITY IF THE REVISED TOTALS FOR NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HENCE, IT WOULD BE LOGICAL TO INFORM THE EAST OF THE REVISED TOTALS IN PASSING AS A PRELUDE TO DISCUSSION OF ALLIED PROPOSALS ON REVISED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. IF THIS COURSE IS FOLLOWED, THE ALLIES IN VIENNA WILL IN PRACTICE NEED GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT BY OCTOBER 7 AT THE LATEST.

4. USNATO REPORTS INDICATE THAT TWO PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN IN THE SPC IN CONNECTION WITH NATO TREATMENT OF THE AD HOC GROUP REQUEST TO RELEASE THE NEW TOTALS TO THE EAST: (A) THE DESIRE OF SOME ALLIES (NETHERLANDS, FRG AND BELGIUM, AS INDICATED IN PARA 3 OF USNATO 4484), THAT THE PENDING MC-224 CONFERENCE ENDORSE THE REVISED PACT TOTALS PRIOR TO THEIR RELEASE TO THE AD HOC GROUP -- A DESIRE WHICH CREATES A PROBLEM OF TIMING -- AND (B) RESISTANCE BY SOME ALLIES TO GIVING ANY FURTHER DATA TO THE EAST EXCEPT ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS. BOTH ISSUES COULD IMPEDE OR DELAY A POSITIVE NATO DECISION ON THE AD HOC GROUP REQUEST.

5. AS REGARDS THE FIRST ISSUE, AN ORAL BRIEFING TO THE AD HOC GROUP ON SEPTEMBER 20 BY COHEN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRET

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SECRETARIAT BASED ON INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM NATO ASYG KASTL INDICATES THAT ONLY ONE MEMBER COUNTRY (UNSPECIFIED) IS CURRENTLY OBJECTING TO THE RELEASE TO THE AD HOC GROUP OF VARIOUS TYPES OF DATA REQUESTED BY THE AD HOC GROUP IN ITS JULY 23 REPORT. IF THIS IS TRUE, THE SIMPLEST PROCEDURE MIGHT BE FOR WASHINGTON TO AUTHORIZE USNATO TO SEEK TO PERSUADE THE OBJECTING DELEGATION TO DROP ITS OBJECTIONS. IF THIS CAN BE DONE, THE DATA

QUESTION WOULD BE REDUCED TO CONSIDERATION IN THE SPC OF THE POLITICAL ISSUE OF THE ADVISABILITY AND CONDITIONS FOR TRANSMITTING VARIOUS TYPES OF DATA TO THE EAST. IF MORE THAN ONE ALLY WISSES TO HAVE THE DATA REVIEWED BY MC-224, IT MAY NOW BE TOO LATE FOR THE US TO EFFECTIVELY CONTEST THE DESIRE OF SOME WFLIES FOR ENDORSEMENT OF CURRENT NATO ESTIMATES OF PACT GROUND FORCE STRENGTH BY THE MC-224 CONFERENCE OR TO ACCELERATE THE HOLDING OF THAT CONFERENCE, AS THE DELEGATION REQUESTED SOME MONTHS AGO. WE ARE ASSUMING THAT THE MC-224 CONFERENCE WILL IN FACT ENDORSE THE ESTIMATES OF PACT STRENGTH WHICH WERE AGREED BY THE US, UK AND FRG IN MID-JUNE AND ENDORSED BY THE SPC FOR MBFR PURPOSES.

6. HOWEVER, A TIMING PROBLEM ARISES FROM THE FACT THAT THE MC-224 CONFERENCE ITSELF IS SCHEDULED TO BE HELD BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 30 AND OCTOBER 5 AND THAT NORMAL PROCEDURES APPARENTLY ENVISAGE GIVING PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS A PERIOD OF ONE MONTH TO ENDORSE OR CONTEST THE FINDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, THIS MEANS THAT ALTHOUGH THE AD HOC GROUP NEEDS A POSITIVE DECISION BY OCTOBER 7, NATO MAY NOT BE ABLE TO ACT IN THE FORMAL SENSE UNTIL THE SECOND WEEK OF NOVEMBER OR LATER.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0249

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. ACTION REQUESTED: IN ADDITION TO THE ACTION REQUESTED IN PARA 5 ABOVE AND IF APPROVAL BY THE MC-224 CONFERENCE IS NECESSARY, WE REQUEST THE HELP OF WASHINGTON AGENCIES TO OBTAIN FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES THE RELEASE OF OVERALL PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND OVERALL SOVIET GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE NGA TOTALS APPROVED BY THE ACUTAL MC-224 CONFERENCE. THIS SHOULD BE DONE WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE NORMAL REVIEW PERIOD TO ELAPSE. NEEDED AT THE SAME TIME WILL BE THE LATEST UPDATE OF NATO GROUND STRENGTH. IN ADVANCING THE FIGURES TO THE EAST, ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA WOULD STATE THAT ALLIED DATA IS UNDER CONTINUED REVIEW AND THAT THIS APPLIES TO THE NEW FIGURES, SO THAT WE WILL NOT BE TIED TO THESE SPECIFIC FIGURES FOR THE FUTURE.

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8. THE SECOND ISSUE WHICH MAY IMPEDE A POSITIVE NATO DECISION TO RELEASE THE NEW TOTALS IS THE RELUCTANCE OF SOME ALLIES TO AGREE THAT ANY FURTHER DATA BE GIVEN THE EAST AT THIS TIME. SOME ALLIES DO NOT WISH TO GIVE FURTHER DATA TO THE EAST BEYOND WHAT THE ALLIES HAVE ALREADY FURNISHED UNLESS THE EAST RECIPROCATES. SOME CONSIDER IT EMBARRASSING TO REVEAL TO THE EAST THAT NATO'S ESTIMATES OF ITS OWN FORCE STRENGTH HAVE CHANGED. SOME CONSIDER IT UNSOUND TO ADVANCE TO THE EAST FIGURES WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO FURTHER CHANGE.

9. IN TRILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH US ON SEPTEMBER 18, BOTH FRG AND UK REPS INDICATED THEIR AUTHORITIES NOW WERE SOMEWHAT RELUCTANT TO AGREE TO DIVULGE NEW TOTALS TO EAST FOR THE LAST OF THESE REASONS. THE UK REP SAID LONDON AUTHORITIES WERE CONCERNED LESS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER CHANGES IN ALLIED ESTIMATES OF PACT FORCES THAN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NEW ALLIED TOTAL FOR NATO FORCES MIGHT BE LOWER THAN THE ACTUAL PRESENT TOTAL. WE TOLD UK REP (ROSE) WE HAD SEEN NOTHING TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS CONCERN AND ASKED HIM WHAT INFORMATION LONDON HAD WHICH HAD GIVEN RISE TO THIS CONCERN BY LONDON. HE WAS UNAWARE OF ANY SPECIFICS. FOR WASHING-

TON, LONDON AND USNATO: WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT LONDON'S ATTITUDE IS A GENERALIZED ONE, NOT BASED ON SPECIFIC INFORMATION, BUT WOULD WELCOME ANY BACKGROUND THAT CAN BE FURNISHED ON POSSIBLE CHANGES IN NATO STRENGTH.

10. WE BELIEVE THERE IS A CLEAR CASE FOR TRANSMITTING THE NEW FIGURES TO THE EAST:

A. THE MAIN ALLIED NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE MORE OF THEIR NUMERICALLY LARGER GROUND FORCES THAN THE ALLIES REDUCE. ALLIED DATA ON GROUND FORCE DISPARITY IS THE PRIMARY VEHICLE FOR MAKING THE ALLIED CASE. THE EAST HAS ALREADY CHALLENGED THE ACCURACY OF THE ALLIED FIGURES. FOR EFFECTIVE US, THIS DATA MUST BE AUTHORITATIVE AND AS ACCURATE AS POSSIBLE.

B. LEAVING ASIDE THE QUESTION OF WHAT FIGURES SHOULD APPEAR IN AN MBFR PHASE II AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST SO THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT CAN BE BOTH BINDING AND CLEARLY
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UNDERSTANDABLE, IT WILL BE NECESSARY AT SOME POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH AT LEAST INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOVIETS ON OVERALL MANPOWER TOTALS, THE NUMBER OF REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN, AND THE RESIDUAL LEVEL TO BE MAINTAINED BY SIGNATORIES OF AN AGREEMENT.

C. IN PRACTICE, THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF REACHING AGREED FIGURES, EITHER THROUGH A PROCESS OF EXCHANGING DATA AND DISCUSSION OF DISCREPANCIES OF THAT DATA, LEADING TO AGREED FIGURES, OR FOR THE SOVIETS EITHER IMPLICITLY OR EXPLICITLY, TO ACCEPT ALLIED TOTALS AS THE BASIS FOR COMPUTATION.

D. WE INTEND TO MAKE THIS POINT TO THE SOVIETS VIGOROUSLY IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THEM TO ENGAGE IN DATA EXCHANGE WITH THE WEST. IN ORDER TO EFFECTIVELY PRESS THE EAST TO DECIDE BETWEEN EXCHANGE OF DATA LEADING TO AGREED DATA OR ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN FIGURES, THE WESTERN FIGURES WHICH THE ALLIES IVITE THE EAST TO ACCEPT MUST BE AS ACCURATE AS POSSIBLE.

E. IT SHOULD BE NO REAL EMBARRASSMENT TO THE ALLIES TO TELL THE EAST, AS SUGGESTED IN PARAGRAPH 12 OF THE AD HOC GROUP REPORT OF JULY 23, THAT IN ORDER TO KEEP THEM ACCURATE ALLIED FIGURES ARE SUBJECT TO CONTINUAL REVIEW AND THAT THIS REVIEW HAS INDICATED MINOR CHANGES IN TOTALS ALREADY ADVANCED. SUCH STATEMENTS CAN IN FACT BE USED TO ENHANCE THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF WESTERN DATA.

F. EXCHANGE OF DATA IS THE ONE CLEAR AREA IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR IN WHCIH THE SOVIETS ARE ON THE DEFENSIVE AND HAVE ADMITTED THIS TO US. WE SHOULD KEEP UP THE PRESSURE IN THIS AREA FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS.

10. FURTHER REASONS FOR DIVULGING THE CHANGE IN ALLIED ESTIMATES ARE THAT THESE CHANGES ARE NOW ABOUT 3 MONTHS OLD. IT IS PROBABLE THAT KNOWLEDGE OF THEM HAS ALREADY REACHED THE EAST OR WILL DO SO, LEADING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE ALLIES ARE NOT SINCERE IN THEIR NEGOTIATING APPROACH. THE FORCE TOTALS OF INDIVIDUAL NATO ALLIES ARE PUBLISHED IN VARIOUS FORMS AND IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO COMPILE A FAIRLY ACCURATE TOTAL FROM PUBLISHED SOURCES. THE NEW FIGURES MAY LEAK INTO THE WESTERN PRESS, CREATING EMBARRASSMENT. THE JUST PUBLISHED ISS
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SURVEY SHOWS THE NATO GROUND FORCE TOTAL AS 788,000. THIS INDICATION OF AN INCREASE OVER THE OFFICIAL ALLIED 777,000 FIGURE IS SURE TO GIVE RISE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS IN VIENNA. EVEN IF NEITHER DEVELOPMENT OCCURS, SOONER OR LATER, THE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO DIVULGE CHANGES IN DATA TO THE EAST, LEAVING THEMSELVES OPEN TO CHARGES OF BAD FAITH.

11. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON AGENCIES ARE REQUESTED TO AUTHORIZE USNATO TO TAKE A FORCEFUL POSITION IN FAVOR OF DIVULGING THE NEW TOTALS TO THE EAST, DRAWING ON THE ARGUMENTS ABOVE, WITH A VIEW TO OBTAINING POSITIVE NAC GUIDANCE BY OCTOBER 7. THIS SCHEDULE ALSO MEANS THAT NAC GUIDANCE ON REVISING THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES SHOULD BE AVAILABLE BY THAT TIME. RESOR

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